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RESERVE

THE POLITICS OF IDEOLOGY AND PERSONALITY
RIVALRY IN MURANG'A DISTRICT, KENYA;
A study of electoral competition

By

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ABSTRACT

Kenya got independence in 1963 amidst a cloud of confusion about the ideological and development path she would follow. Such confusion led to an intensive political debate which tended to categorize the contestants into leftists and pro-western rightists. In Muranga District Kaggiah and Kiano represented the two camps respectively, though the latter was more interested in boosting his personal political hegemonism than in ideological victory. Since independence, therefore, elections in the District tended to revolve around Kiano's political personality. His ouster in 1979 seems to have led to a new type of political development where the very wealthy commercial group of people has taken over political leadership in the District, thus finally replacing the entire 1960's political leadership in the area.

Political negligence and arrogance, as well as inadequate attention to the people's socio-economic needs and demands have been identified as the main factors behind the ouster of several MPs in Muranga and in Kangema particularly. The dominance of elite interests in an election has great influence on both the attitude and behaviour of the electorate towards the incumbent and his challengers, the party and the government, and the efficacy of elections in influencing governmental policy.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to extend the discussion we started in an earlier paper regarding politics, elections and democratic performance in Kenya. In that paper, which dealt with Nakuru District and which addressed to the role of the politics of land, ethnicity and sectionalism in electoral competition in the district, a theoretical discussion of the notion of elections and democracy was attempted by way of introduction and we expect the same to form the basis of the present paper. Equally applicable is the statement on methodological difficulties which were encountered in our research and which we hope the future researchers on elections will be able to avoid or overcome. If we let the introductory section of the paper on Nakuru apply to the present paper as well, we should then move straight to the subject matter of politics and elections in Murang'a District. As was the case in the Nakuru paper, a microcase study of Kangema is undertaken mainly on the basis of a survey research conducted during 1983 general elections. Otherwise the first part of the paper is largely based on historical, usually secondary data.

PART I

IDEOLOGY AND PERSONALITY RIVALRY

Murang'a District and anti-colonial struggle

The colonial-political history briefly reviewed in our earlier paper on Nakuru had grave repercussions in Murang'a District. As it is well known, Murang'a was one of the districts of Central Kenya that had parts of their land alienated by the colonial government and allocated for settlement by European settlers. The unalienated portion of the District was reserved as part of the wide African "reserves" which were retained as a pool of labour for the settlers.

The history of the role of the Africans in Murang'a District in the political and armed struggle against colonial rule has been recorded in several volumes and needs not be repeated here.⁽¹⁾ Suffice it to observe here that for several years the district was in the forefront of anti-colonial political struggle right from the time of the formation of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and later on at the time of Kenya African Union (KAU). The district also became the main sufferer of the blunt of colonial military force during the Mau Mau armed anti-colonial struggle in the seven years of the State of Emergency. This was largely an ideological war that sought to re-assert the African dominant political position in Kenya as a prerequisite for his economic and social development in freedom.

Kaggia's Ideological Position

Small wonder then that Murang'a became one of the hotbeds of the sharp ideological controversy which characterized the first six years of Kenya's independence. The district also became an important participant in the post - 1969 intra-Kikuyu sectional strife as depicted earlier in the case of Nakuru District.

(1) For example, see Bildad Kaggia, Roots of Freedom 1921 - 1963, an autobiography, (Nairobi: EAPH 1975).

The ideological controversy of the 1960's was geared to finding the road the independent country would follow in its social and economic development. It therefore involved mainly the leftists and the pro-western rightists who were headed by Tom Mboya. This was the controversy that led to the production of sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. The paper was a Government paper which removed doubts as to the commitment of Kanu leadership in leading the new nation on a capitalist, and hence pro-western, path. Not only did it reiterate the provisions of the independence constitution in respect of property rights, but it also accorded private foreign investments a very great role in economic growth of the country. Together with the issue of unlimited land grabbing by the wealthy Africans, this provision of private foreign investments, among other things, became a source of great conflict.

The main leftist-pro-Western conflict in Murang'a was championed by B.M. Kaggiah and Dr. J.G. Kiano respectively. The former was the MP for Kandara and an assistant minister for Education in 1963 - 1964. In June 1964 he resigned from his post as an assistant minister when he disagreed with Kenyatta's government policy requiring that former European farms be allocated to Africans on basis of purchase. Kaggiah's stand was that land belonged to the African people, it had been stolen from them and they ought not be made to purchase it from the Europeans.⁽²⁾ He also urged the government to put a ceiling on the amount of land an individual African could own in the former European areas with a view to prevent the emergence of African capitalists in the shoes of the outgoing European settlers.⁽³⁾

Kiano, on the other hand, supported the Government fully on the issue of land. He had earlier on in 1958 supported land consolidation programme in Central Province and even regarded it as essential for full development of the area.⁽⁴⁾

(2) Cherry Gertzel, *The Politics of Independent Kenya* (Nairobi: EAPH, 1970, Reprinted 1974) pp. 41-46.

(3) Ibid., p. 48

(4) E.A. Standard, 20/8/58.

After independence he seemed to have identified Kaggia as the main challenger of his dominant political leadership in the district. He therefore levelled several attacks on Kaggia. In 1965 for example, Kiano called on Kaggiah to resign as the Murang'a District Kanu Chairman if he disagreed with Kenyatta on the land issue. (5)

Kiano's hegemonic bids in District leadership.

Initially Kiano was the MP for Kangema (1963-66) but after the dissolution of the senate in 1966 he became the member for Mbiri, which was formerly Kiharu Constituency with Jesse Mwangi Gachago as the MP. From Kangema Kiano took with him Kanyenyaini Location (his home area) while from his new constituency of Mbiri was removed Gaturi Location which became part of the newly created Makuyu Constituency. For a good politician such as Kiano, a form of some home base provided some sense of reassurance in the moments of political upheavals. Kiano's heart however, was not in Kangema, but in Mbiri, a centrally located constituency that included the main Town and the District Headquarters, and one that was expected to play a central role in the politics of the district. Indeed, Kiano seems to have had this calculation in mind as in the mid-1960's he earnestly sought to be recognized as the political leader of Murang'a people especially in the ruling party Kanu. (6)

One is therefore persuaded to conclude that while Kaggiah may have been an ideologically committed politician, Kiano was simply interested in his personal political dominance in the district as a basis of his recognition as one of the power brokers nationally. During this period the only competitor for both district and national power was Kaggiah whom Kiano decided to fight on the ideological front. When the KPU was banned in 1969 and Kaggiah withdrew from active political combat, Kiano turned his weapons against any would-be challenger in the district leadership. This time Kiano's target became Jesse Mwangi Gachago, the "unruly" MP for Makuyu who outrightly refused being bossed about by Kiano. The ensuing struggle was purely on personality basis thus, once again emphasizing the

(5) Taifa Leo, 19/4/65

(6) Also see Gertzel, op. Cit p. 61

the absence of ideological commitment on the part of Kiano on the one hand, and his uncompromising thirst for district power on the other.

The formation of Gema and its drive to dominate the political scene in Central Province had a distabilizing effect in Murang'a District where, as in other districts, the association's leadership also sought to head the district political arena as well. A similar case has been seen in Nakuru District. In Murang'a efforts were made to challenge Kiano in his Mbiri constituency in the 1974 elections. The attempt was not successful, largely because the Gema-backed candidate was very weak and thus gave Kiano a chance of winning comfortably. Kiano immediately sensed trouble and immediately sought to institute counter attacks, mounting defences and alliances where possible. In the 1974 election campaign he posed as the vanguard of the northerners' course against the southerners' political manoeuvre aimed at edging the northerners out of national political leadership. He was behind the organization of several harambee fund raising meetings which he used as venues for political counter attacks and defences against the new Gema-backed threats. After the elections, he reached for the only uncommitted and newly elected MP in the person of J.J. Kamotho for Kangema and quickly managed to win him over as an ally in the district leadership wrangle.

Kiano's Decline and Eventual Fall

All these efforts, determined as they were, did not bear a lot of positive fruits. If anything they set the Gema-backed leadership perfecting their organization in a manner that clearly demonstrated that they did not take Kiano for granted at any one time. In the 1974 elections, therefore, three of the five constituencies in the district went to Gema candidates who included George N. Mwachigi in Kandara, Mwangi Njuguna in Kigumo, and Jessee Mwangi Gachago in Makuyu. All the three were unreservedly opposed to Kiano's claim as the leader for Murang'a people, and their commitment to end what they saw as Kiano's hegemony was no longer a secret. In 1976, the first

serious round of their offensive took place and the Gema leadership won most of the sub-branch Kanu seats and all the District positions of Kanu executive. From Mbiri, Keneth N. Matiba became the District Kanu Secretary while in Kangema John N. Michuki became the Chairman of the sub-branch.

Kiano was therefore ousted as the District Kanu chairman in what was perhaps one of the most painful experiences in his entire political career. With him went most of his followers.

The 1976 Kanu elections in Murang'a were a prelude of the catastrophe on the way. Kiano had taken Mbiri electorate too much for granted and his decline politically in this area became more precipitous than ever before. It was not surprising therefore that in 1979 he lost the seat to Matiba, the one person who had both the resources and the stamina to sustain a tough combat against Kiano. He finally polled 20,135 votes against Kiano's 16,628 votes, and so ousted the last of the leading politicians of the early days of independence in the district. Kiano's fall marked an end of an era in Murang'a politics.

It is clear that having been in politics since the colonial period in 1958, Kiano had developed a kind of political arrogance and complacency. He took his record for granted and was always ready to dismiss his rivals without recrimination. When the latter launched their onslaught in 1979, Kiano could not clearly respond to the charge of withdraw from the constituency for most of his political career. They condemned him for the comparatively small number of projects constructed in the area during his life as its MP. Even more important, they forced the electoral debate to concentrate on Kiano's discrimination against some of the locations in the constituency; his failure to deal with unemployment and poverty in the area was highlighted; his entire performance as the MP for Mbiri was called to question.

Kiano had therefore paid too much attention to his interests in Murang'a leadership at the expense of growth in Mbiri. He was worried by the fast growing weight of Mwachigi in Kandara, a growth

that he failed to keep in check given that Mwachigi had a well entrenched support in Gema and in the foreign financial springs for the mammoth Kandara Water Project of which he was the chief organizer. In Kigumo Dr. J.F.C. Munene, his former ally, had lost the seat to Mwangi Njuguna in 1974 and was now too preoccupied with his businesses to be able to recapture the seat.

In Kangema, his friend Kamotho successfully braved the storm but it was also only a matter of time he too would be gone. In Makuyu his ally, P.S. Wachira, regained the seat after Gachago was imprisoned in 1976 for stealing coffee. He retained it in 1979 by carefully keeping out of controversy. All suggesting the difficulties Kiano may have to overcome should he wish to make a political come back in the district.

Perhaps the most important election controversy in 1979 took place in Kangema. It was here that J.N. Michuki, a close business associate and friend of Matiba and the Vice President Mwai Kibaki, the two hailing from the bordering constituencies, Mbiri and Othaya respectively, seriously threatened to oust Kamotho as the MP for the area. As we see later, this was a hotly - debated election in which the entire constituency and the surrounding areas took a lot of interest. The main issue at debate was whether Michuki should be popularly elected to represent the constituency in independent Kenya's parliament while in the colonial days he had supported the colonial regime and had harassed and mutilated the Kangema people who were involved in the Mau Mau armed struggle for independence. In this debate Kiano was very much in the background in support of Kamotho while Michuki was alleged to draw his main support, inspiration and advice from Matiba and Mwai Kibaki. Right from the beginning of 1979, when it was clear that elections would be held that year, the debate was so intense that some of the wouldbe candidates including Issaiah Ngotho Kariuki shied away in fear of the expected storm. The latter, was even carried away rather injudiciously provided an outright support for Kamotho, thus sacrificing his own credibility in the eyes of the electorate. The result was ultimately in favour of Kamotho who polled 17,795 votes against Michuki's 13,321 votes.

He became the only highly educated friend of Kiano to win a seat in Murang'a, and in the absence of Kiano himself among the winners, he was given the only full ministerial position: to go to Murang'a District and was made the Minister for Higher Education.

The New District Political Cadre

The fall of Kiano in Mbiri in 1979 seems to have set the pace for the clean up that was to come in the 1983 elections. After 1979, Mwachigi's victory was successfully challenged in the High Court by Josephat Mburu Wanyoike, himself a defeated candidate in the general elections in Kandara constituency. He was also found guilty of an election offence and was therefore disqualified from seeking re-election for a period of five years. This meant that short of presidential clemency, nothing else would enable Mwachigi to run for elections in 1983. This situation somehow gave some relief to Kiano and his supporters in the District all of whom had tried to win David Waweru Ngethe, the person who won the by-election after Mwachigi's 1979 election was nullified, to their side of District leadership strive. However, against what everybody else expected, Mwachigi was given presidential pardon and was cleared to run the 1983 elections in Kandara where he scored a resounding victory over his three opponents who polled a total of 20,002 votes against Mwachigi's own 20,413 votes. An arch-rival of Kiano's power in Murang'a was therefore back in parliament. However, his ability to win the leadership of Murang'a District even for a short while is doubtful.

In Kigumo Mwangi Njuguna, a friend and an ally of Mwachigi, lost the seat to Francis Mwangi Thuo in what was a crushing defeat having polled only 3,401 votes against Thuo's 13,885 votes. The second best performance was that of Professor Gabric Gicia Samson Munoru who polled 12,020 votes and nearly captured the seat after having missed it narrowly again in 1979. Thuo is a former Chairman of Nairobi Stock Exchange. He is very wealthy, but has managed to keep out of Murang'a District wrangle. As such he seems to have been regarded as a man of the constituency and was believed to be capable of leading people to greater development through intensified

construction of several social and economic facilities especially in the upper areas near the forest region where he hails from.

In Mbiri Matiba retained his seat after fighting a battle which he initially tended to ignore, but later on found to be dangerous in terms of the rate at which he was losing votes. He polled 21,134 votes against Jidruph Mwangi Kamau Mweru of Mugoiri Location, who polled 13,054 and thus served as a reminder to Matiba that arrogance could sometimes be very costly politically. The one political statement that Matiba used in his campaign was that "Mbiri was for the rich, not for the poor". In a constituency where poverty is on the increase, the statement turned out to be irritating to a large section of the voters who felt betrayed and dejected. No wonder that Kamau Mweru polled so many votes, a performance hardly expected by most observers during the first half of the campaign period. The class debate intensified in the second half of the campaign period and thus became the most important factor behind the 62.3% voter turn out that year.

What is significant, however, is that, while the three new comers in the district might not have been expected to be given full ministerial positions after Kamotho was defeated in Kangema, many people thought the position might go to Mwichigi who had a long experience as an assistant minister. However, his past role as a Gema enthusiast, together with his previous conviction of an election offence, seem not to have endeared him favourably enough, and the ministerial position therefore went to Matiba inspite of having ousted Kiano who was whispered to have been one of the President's right-hand men in the country.

The Spread of the Wind of Change

Perhaps one of the best examples of the great need for change in political leadership in Central Province and in Murang'a particularly is Makuyu constituency where the two political veterans were both removed in 1983 elections. These were Gachago and Wachira who now polled the least votes among the five contestants. The victor was Nduati Kariuki who seemed to be capable of saving the constituents from the Kiano-based rivalry between Gachago and

Wachira, a rivalry that cost the area valuable time, thought and energy which could have been directed to the growth of the area's social and economic wellbeing. As a constituency covering the larger part of whatever land was alienated in Murang'a by the Europeans in the colonial period, Makuyu harbours numerous workers and squatters in the coffee estates and ranches that still operate there and it is therefore one of the constituencies with a massive problem of poverty. All the same, the electorate ironically enough elected a member of the business class for their MP, thus, once again raising the question whether change in the rural areas, including the worker and squatter populated rural areas, can be realized without urban-based leadership, usually from other classes.

Finally, Kangema also chose to change its MP in 1983 in what was again a hotly contested election. The main contestants were the incumbent, J.J. Kamotho, and J.N. Michuki both of whom were the only candidates in 1979. This time they were joined by I.N. Kariuki who seemed more interested in showing these two main giants that they were challengeable than in winning the election. The extent to which he managed to do this will be dealt with in the next section. So will be the other questions concerning the factors that might have led to Michuki's victory over Kamotho and the voters' attitude towards the entire election subject.

By 1983, the three key Murang'a constituencies were in the hands of the former Gema leadership in the District. These were Kandara, Mbiri and Kangema. The other two were also captured by members of the business class which was ideologically not different from the former Gema leadership. Murang'a therefore became fully "conquered" by the wealthy politically, the politics of old, colonial nationalism was brought to an end, and a new class based politics seems to have been ushered in.

Taken at national level, this kind of change will have

grave implications on democracy as majority classes strive to restrain undemocratic tendencies that are bound to develop in the minority classes. This is an issue that should concern all those people interested in democratic development in Kenya. As we ponder over it, let us now turn to seeing electoral performance in Kangema constituency which, together with Nakuru Town Constituency will become the basis of our generalization to the entire nation.

Kangema electoral Profile

The history of electoral process in Kangema Constituency of Murang'a District (Central Province, Kenya) can be traced from colonial times. In 1958, (Table 23), Dr. J.G. Kiano defeated E.W. Mathu in that year's election to fill the Legislative - Council seat for Central South Constituency (Fort Hall and Kiambu) under Lyttelton Constitution (1954). In 1961 new elections were held to fill the enlarged number of African seats in Legislative Council (Legco) and this time Dr. J.G. Kiano became the member for Fort Hall after narrowly defeating Kariuki Njiri. And in 1963 the independence elections were held with Dr. Kiano as the sole candidate for Kangema Constituency, a seat he held for three and half years.

Meanwhile, in April 1965 when Taddeo Mwaura's two-year term in the Senate expired, Mwangi (Thayu) Njage from Kangema, was nominated by Murang'a Kanu Branch as the sole candidate for Fort Hall's Senate seat. Taddeo Mwaura and four other hopefuls were rejected by a big majority of District Governing Council delegates.⁽⁷⁾ Mwangi Njage held his seat upto 1966 when the Senate House was dissolved through a constitutional repeal. A revision of constituency boundaries was also undertaken to accommodate the senators who were to be deployed as Members of Parliament in the new One House National Assembly. As indicated earlier, Dr. Kiano opted to move out of Kangema, taking Kanyenyaini Location (his home location) with him to form a new Mbiri Constituency, and thus effectively pushing Jesse Mwangi Gachango out of Kiharu Administrative Division (he only retained Gaturi Location) to

(7) Taifa Leo, 9/4/65

a newly created Makuyu Constituency. Kangema Constituency, now made up of four, instead of five administrative locations, was left for Mwangi Njage to occupy without any contesting.

The new MP for Kangema had barely settled to business when fresh elections were called in 1969. That year's results indicated that in the three year period Mwangi Njage had not gained much popularity in Kangema and that although as many as six candidates were involved, (the highest number of contestants so far), the turn out of voters was only 50.4% lowest in Kangema to date. In fact, even the percentages of the winning vote vis a vis the votes cast (33.5%) or vis a vis the registered voters (16.9%) have also been the lowest in electoral history of Kangema, (Table 23).

Mwangi Njage had got the Kangema seat so easily that he tended not to value it all that much. This was the feeling of many voters in Kangema who also pointed out that in spite of the people's efforts in constructing various social and economic facilities in a bid to uplift their socio-economic standards, Mwangi Njage remained virtually aloof. He was so apathetic that he even stayed out of 1974's election campaign until only two weeks before the polling day. By then he had already done his political career enough damage and the electorate had already decided there was a leadership vacuum as far as parliamentary representation was concerned. Under these circumstances Mwangi Njage could not withstand the challenge from any of the three new contestants who included J.J. Kamotho, Ngotho Kariuki and Muturi Kigano. When the results were announced, Mwangi Njage held the last position, polling only 668 votes out of a total of 18,416 votes cast, and where the voter turn out was 71.6%.

As one might suspect, Kangema was little heard of in the district or in the national politics during M. Njage's period as the area's MP. All this time, he had operated in Kiano's armpit and never at any one time did he try to sensitize the latter who was said to be totally allergic to anyone trying to be independent of him politically.

At this juncture, it must be observed that Njage was initially

brought into politics through the efforts of Kaggiah's followers in 1965 when the latter was involved in a wrangle with Kiano over the Chairmanship of Kanu in Murang'a District. No sooner had he entered the National Assembly than Kiano reached for him in a bid to win him over to his camp in Murang'a leadership struggle. Njage therefore found himself in a dilemma and he seems to have opted for a middle way where he neither pleased nor displeased anyone completely. Thus for instance, he adopted a virtually non-participatory stance in the KANU - KPU rivalry of 1966-69. Nonetheless such a middle position did not pay dividends in 1974 for when Kiano realized that Njage was not doing too well, he decided to watch Kangema elections from the background hoping to lure whoever became the victor soon after the elections.

As it turned out, the 1974 election in Kangema brought in a new face in the person of J.J. Kamotho as the area's MP. He had polled 43.4% of the votes cast and 31.1% of the registered potential votes. For a new person in politics, such a low poll percentage was no cause for great satisfaction. It meant that Kamotho had to tread the future political ground with caution. What is more, the overstretched lull during Njage's period meant that the 1974 elections demanded a kind of an upsurge in developmental performance on the part of whoever was the winner,

Kamotho somehow seems to have realized the intricacies of this seat and therefore did everything possible to keep out of national controversy while at the same time trying to make frequent visits to Kangema where he helped to raise funds for various self-help projects that people began. In this process, he established warm relations with women welfare groups in the area and thus created an important resource for his future political moves. He also established close ties with various leaders of the coffee cooperative societies, with councillors, chiefs and their assistants, most of whom learned to regard him more favourably than his predecessor in developmental terms.

For some reason or other, Kamotho's efforts to lay out elaborate logistics for his future political operations did not deter other people from developing an appetite for Kangema seat. In particular, they did not deter Michuki from laying his counter strategies as well. Earlier on, he had not only distinguished himself as a leading member of Gema in the district and nationally, but he had also successfully sought the association's backing when he was elected chairman for Kangema Kanu sub-brach in 1976. Henceforth, it became evident that Michuki was the Gema preference for Kangema parliamentary seat. His successful efforts to win the Kanu chairmanship in the constituency was therefore a kind of a dress-rehearsal for the challenge he was preparing to set before Kamotho in the next elections.

As pointed out earlier, the 1979 elections in Kangema could be said to be the most hotly debated and most fiercely contested ever. In fact, the very thought of the intensity of the battle to come kept several would be candidates out of the race, some of them turning to supporting either Kamotho or Michuki, the only contestants. The most important of the people who shied away in 1979 was Ngotho Kariuki who had tried to capture the seat in 1974 but in vain. For reasons best known to himself, however, Kariuki suddenly appeared on the public platform in 1979 and gave unreserved support for Kamotho against Michuki. He may have been driven by his personal ego to appear to be an important political broker in Kangema, but in the eyes of many of his supporters his act was politically demeaning. Before the electorate, the act completely denuded his credibility and henceforth any moves he made were bound to be interpreted in terms of Kamotho-Michuki rivalry. Kariuki had therefore sacrificed his identity politically as well.

One question that keeps nagging the observers of the 1979 elections in Kangema is whether Kariuki's role was worthwhile at all. It may not be easy to estimate the effect he had against Michuki in terms of votes, but if one assumed it to be about half the number that made the difference between the two candidates, (i.e. half of 4,474 votes), one is tempted to conclude that the effort was far too expensive and irrational. It was from this kind of observation that allegations

about monetary deals involving Kamotho and Kariuki became very difficult to dismiss. However, in the absence of evidence in support of such allegations, they must, for the time being, be dismissed as part of the political hog-wash that characterizes most parts of the country during an election campaign period.

The political polarization that characterized Kangema in 1979 continued virtually intact until the 1983 elections when the electorate had a second chance to decide on the political fate of Kamotho and Michuki. Ngatho Kariuki also decided to join the race this time but as pointed out above, he had done a lot of damage to his political identity and credibility in 1979, and could not therefore get very far. This left Kamotho and Michuki as the main contenders for the seat. Their performance in this election, as well as the voters' interpretation of the political scene in Kangema at the time becomes the main focus of the next part of this paper.

Conclusion

To sum up, Kangema voters seem to have formed the habit of turning up in big number during the voting day. They seem to be greatly attracted into voting by the open debate about their socio-economic expectations and the kind of person that can best help to have them realized. Although the candidates' past record greatly influences the electorate, the future prospects in relation to a candidate's ability to promote economic and social welfare of the constituency seem to have played a greater part in determining how the voters cast their vote. In most cases, the Kangema voter is well informed about the issues and the candidates at hand. Consequently, as we see shortly, he has great confidence in his ability to influence change in parliamentary representation in Kangema especially when the development of the locality demands it. No wonder that the electorate in this constituency has tried to change their MPs at every election and this trend will probably continue for some time to come.

PART II

1983 Parliamentary Elections in Kangema Constituency,

Murang'a District: a survey report

The Candidates and their initial predicaments

When President Moi announced in June 1983 that the life of Parliament would be cut short by at least one year and that the general elections would now be held in 1983 instead of 1984, he caught both the electorate and the would-be candidates unawares. The hardest hit, in this respect, were the new would-be candidates who had barely laid any meaningful grounds in preparation for elections. In particular, most of them had not put together the requisite organizational and material resources that would enable them to pose some meaningful challenge to the incumbents.

Although this general panic hit Kangema as much as any other constituency in the country, it however had little effect on the two main contenders for the seat. For four years since the previous elections in 1979 when they were the only contestants, both Kamotho and Michuki maintained a very high momentum of competition aimed at preserving one's basic support intact and if possible win over more voters to one's camp before the next elections. It was only Ngotho Kariuki who was caught unawares in virtually every respect but more so in terms of availability of material and organizational resources, a factor that greatly impaired his chances in the 1983 elections.

Whatever one's predicaments might have been, the candidates were differently rated by the electorate depending on their association with the constituents, their contribution to development, and their general political calibre. The electorate therefore reflected a mixed but crucially important attitudinal pattern that in all probability was in conformity with their voting behaviour. They also had interesting attitudes in relation to the electoral process itself, the ruling party KANU and the government in general.

The Lure of 'New Ideas'

One of the important observations of electoral survey in 1983 was that Kamotho's popularity with the electorate had declined substantially since the previous elections in 1979. By September 1983 about 55% of the electorate were dissatisfied with him as their MP (Table 24). This category included both men and women of all age groups as this Table illustrates. In 1979 Kamotho had scored about 56.1% of the total votes cast. For about 45% of the electorate to indicate that they were satisfied with him as their MP in 1983 would mean a drop of about 11% in popularity. This was a large difference which would not be easy to bridge within the brief campaign period.

Looking at Kamotho's role as the MP for Kangema, one gets the impression that only 39% of the respondents were satisfied with him as their MP and at the same time considered him as the person who had done most for the development of the constituency, (Table 25). About 15.2% of the respondents also considered him to have contributed most to the area's development, but for whatever reasons, they were dissatisfied with him as their MP. About 41.4% of the respondents, on the other hand, considered other politicians to have contributed most for the area's development. Considering that only a few of them were satisfied with the incumbent, one is not surprised that a strong challenger could oust Kamotho in 1983. The findings in Table 25 are strongly supported by the election results for 1983. In fact, the percentage of the respondents dissatisfied with the incumbent (52.2%) virtually tallies with the winning percentage (52.1%) of the votes cast, (Table 23). This is in all probability reflective of a predictable behaviour on the part of the electorate given that Table 25 is statistically significant at 10. Also, given that the table gives a gamma positive relationship of .66, it would appear that the electorate's choice of Michuki was heavily influenced by real or potential developmental considerations.

In dealing with the question of who has done most for the development of the constituency, one cannot help to address to the issue of locational bias in respect of the voters' answer to this question. Table 26, has tried to illustrate this bias and immediately enlightens the observer to the fact that Kamotho had practically no following in Iyego location, i.e. Michuki's home location. This Table also makes it clear that although he had some difficulties in Kiriti, his home location, and in Kiru location, Kamotho was nevertheless the highest rated candidate in these two locations in terms of his contribution to development. Being his home area, one is not surprised that Kamotho was well regarded in Kiriti. In the case of Kiru, the main explanation for Kamotho's popularity derives from the fact that it was here that Kamotho concentrated most of his efforts in terms of harambee fund raising activities. This was a vote winning strategy in a location that commanded more than 32% of the total adult population in Kangema.

In Gitugi Kamotho had about 48% of the voters regarding him favourably in development terms, while Michuki and Kariuki had 26% of the voters each in the same terms.

It is clear that a candidate's contribution to development was one of the most important considerations the voters had in mind when they went to cast their votes. This was hence responsible for the evident locational bias as regards the three contestants as may be suggested in Table 27. This mainly involved the two main contestants, Kamotho and Michuki. The latter had the support of virtually 90% of the voters in Iyego while the former commanded about 71% and 67% of the support in Kiru and Kiriti. In Gitugi Kamotho was supported by about 29% of the voters while the remaining 71% was shared between Michuki and Kariuki in the ratio of approximately 2:1.

Various political cultural systems have various factors that influence the way the voters cast their votes. In Kenya, the candidate's wealth has increasingly been regarded as the most important factor in this respect. Education, religion, and traditional leadership have also been reported to play a big role in several places. In Kangema, the electorate may have been influenced by these factors in the past, but

in 1983 elections education and religion had practically no role to play in the voting, while a candidate's wealth had only an indirect role as we shall see shortly, (see Table 28).

Of special interest is the manner in which education was rendered ineffective as a factor to determine the way people voted. Throughout the campaign period, both Kamotho and Kariuki tried to make an issue out of education as a strategy of frustrating Michuki out of the race on account of his lack of university education. They had observed that in spite of his successful career as a public servant and as the Chairman of Kenya Commercial Bank, Michuki's lack of university education had always been a sore in his eye. This was true in 1979 and 1983 when the other two candidates had a minimum of M.A. Degrees behind them. Luckily for him in 1983, Michuki managed to obtain the support and full commitment of Dr. Githige who was a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy at Kenyatta University College. This was a major breakthrough on the part of Michuki who had the confidence that Dr. Githige's education would effectively counter balance Kamotho's and Kariuki's education. Michuki's calculation somehow turned out to be right as Dr. Githige's role greatly reduced the importance of the candidate's education as a variable or issue in 1983 elections in this constituency. This was perhaps part of the reason why the voters did not regard education as a factor to determine the way they would cast their votes.

The most important factors in the eyes of the electorate were traditional leadership and new ideas. From Table 28, one gets the impression that about 41.7% of the electorate thought that voting would be determined on the basis of traditional leadership. As this table illustrates, a large proportion of the electorate that would be influenced by traditional leadership (22.9% of the respondents) was satisfied with Kamotho, the sitting MP, and may have contributed heavily to the 15,630 votes that he polled this time. On the other hand, the 18.8% of the respondents who were dissatisfied with Kamotho may have considered Michuki to be a traditional leader by virtue of being the son of a one time very powerful colonial chief in Kangema⁸. They may also have considered his long career as a public servant as a qualification for

(8) In fact the concept traditional leader is illusive because in contemporary terms in Kangema (and perhaps the entire Central Province) it would simply refer to a person who has occupied the position of leadership for some years. In this case both Kamotho and Michuki would be called traditional leaders.

traditional leadership. Whichever way, both Kamotho and Michuki had some past record behind them, a thing that may have qualified them as traditional leaders in the eyes of the electorate. No wonder once again that the poll difference between the two was not all that great.

The greatest proportion of the electorate (43.8%) however, considered new ideas to be the most important factor determining how people were to vote in 1983. As Table 28 shows, the bulk of this section of the voters (27% of respondents) were dissatisfied with Kamotho and were therefore likely to vote en masse in Michuki's favour.

Thus, although Kangema voters were cautious about removing a person who had been their MP for nine years, and whom they therefore considered to be a traditional leader, they nevertheless sought for a person who could inject some fresh ideas on how to overcome their social and economic problems.

Michuki seemed to represent such an image which was highly rated by a large proportion of the electorate irrespective of their age and level of education. However, it is worthy noting that the electorate with more than eight years of education seemed to be more dissatisfied with Kamotho as the incumbent than were the less educated. This section of the electorate represented a high proportion (about 52%) of the entire electorate and its impact on the election results cannot be taken lightly. In addition, a good part of the voters who were out for new ideas was made of relatively young people who were hardly directly affected by Michuki's anti-Mau Mau role in the colonial period more than twenty five years ago.

In this regard, neither Kamotho's nor Kariuki's efforts to resurrect Michuki's image as a ruthless mutilator of people struggling for freedom could find fertile ground in a good section of the electorate. Given that this was the main thrust of their attack on Michuki, one is not surprised that the latter was able to counter it as a matter of the past, insisting that his sole objective was to look into the future and help promote the area's development at the fastest rate possible. In particular he promised the electorate

that he would help devise new ways of income earning in the constituency; he would seek ways and means of alleviating unemployment among the youth; and he would further promote farming and business interests for Kangema people.⁹

Class interests and elections

It would perhaps be right to argue that Michuki's greatest assets were his wealth and his successful career as a public servant and as a banker. He may have legally used his position as the Chairman of Kenya Commercial Bank to provide some Kangema people with loans to improve their economic position especially in business. In fact judicious application of his power as the chief executive of the bank seems to have led to his election as the Chairman of Kanu Kangema constituency in 1976, when he was also a leading member of GEMA national executive. For the purposes of 1983 elections, however, Michuki's wealth was most useful in that it enabled him to maintain a full level of liquidity throughout the electioneering period.¹⁰

Thus, although wealth was not rated highly as a factor determining how people would vote in 1983, it nevertheless became a basis of expecting better performance from Michuki in terms of new ideas to improve the people's life conditions. In particular, Michuki's position as a successful careerist and businessman seems to have endeared him to the urban elites who hailed from Kangema. A number of them had supported Ngogho Kariuki in 1974, and then supported Kamotho in 1979. But by 1983 they had become disillusioned and turned to backing Michuki on whom they now placed their hopes for individual advancement in one's endeavours. They were mainly the educated elite, the urban workers and petty-bourgeoisie, and the upcoming young urban business elites. Their numbers were not big, but added to those who had supported Michuki in 1979, they were able to influence many voters who were close to them in class terms into seeing Kamotho with disaffection. As Table 29 illustrates, therefore, a good section of rural shop/hotel keepers and other businessmen were dissatisfied with Kamotho. Dissatisfaction was greatest among the teachers, the students and the unemployed (Table 29 and 30,) all of whom were likely to be persuaded into viewing Michuki's wealth as a product of

(9) Interview with J.N. Michuki, and Michuki's campaign meetings address records, September 1983.

(10) Conservative estimates indicate that more than Shs. 5 million may have been spent by Michuki between the day the President announced that the elections would be held in 1983 and the day the election results were announced on September 27, 1983. (Estimates based on interviews and discussions with leading campaigners for all the candidates)

his entrepreneurial ideas some of which they could tap for their own benefit. In this respect, Michuki's wealth and class position as a member of the 'national bourgeoisie' attracted a good section of those aspiring to join that class some day. Otherwise, in class terms he was nowhere close to the majority class of the peasantry in Kangema. All the same, while trying to woo the peasantry to vote for him he at the same time did all he could to avoid further alienation of this important class in terms of the votes it commanded.

The above, however, should not be construed to mean that Michuki had the full backing of the business/trade group in the constituency. In fact it happened that Kamotho had the confidence of the greater part of rural shop/hotel keepers, general businessmen and salesmen, who were also more likely to be older and therefore knowledgeable about Michuki's anti-people record in the colonial days. About 57% of them therefore indicated their satisfaction with Kamotho as the area's MP., as opposed to the 43% who replied they were dissatisfied with him. Nevertheless, the entire business group irrespective of the side they supported, tended to be more elitist than not.

The dominant elite interests just described swept through the entire Constituency and no wonder that the entire electoral debate tended to be mainly elitist. It addressed itself mainly to elite issues like the supply of electricity, telephone, tarmac roads and to the need to introduce new business opportunities. Some national issues which little concerned the local peasantry were also brought forward. These included the traitor issue, Kamotho's quarrel with the University, and the like. But hardly did any candidate associate himself with the peasantry as such. None of them was, for example, closely associated with peasant cooperatives (coffee, tea, dairy). As pointed out above, Kamotho had established a close association with various welfare groups which tended to be elitist, especially in leadership, and which therefore could not prevent a decline in the support that he had earlier enjoyed among the peasantry. At any rate, the leaders of several welfare groups together with Kamotho himself, were accused of having political association with the leadership which had been implicated in the misappropriation of peasant earnings especially in coffee and dairy marketing cooperatives. They were also accused of

associating with leaders who were implicated in the loss of harambee collections for various self-help projects. And they were accused of collaboration with people who frustrated the peasant efforts in search for improved life conditions through self-help projects such as schools, cattle dips, and housing and water programmes. As such, the peasant support for Kamotho, as may be seen in Table 30, had become as low, as 45% (i.e. 9 out of 20 respondents), while 55% of them were dissatisfied with his record.

In class terms both Kamotho and Kariuki had a peasantry background. But they were not peasants themselves. Since his first bid for Kangema seat in 1974, Kariuki has not maintained a very close association with Kangema peasantry. His reappearance in 1979, when he supported Kamotho against Michuki, did not place him any closer to the peasant electorate. If anything, it served to alienate him all the more as his political identity as well as his own sense of direction became increasingly misty. Hence his return as a candidate in 1983 did not get Kariuki very far; he obtained only 477 votes out of a total of 34,529 votes cast. He was not only politically far from the voters, but was also organizationally in a mess. He did not therefore attract and retain the full support of his sympathizers who, when it became clear he was losing, tended to keep-off as a way of shunning the eventual defeat by association.

Kamotho, on the other hand, was perhaps the most advantaged candidate right from June 1983. His main point of strength lay in the fact that he was already a cabinet minister since the 1979 elections, and was most likely to be favoured by several government officials particularly the provincial administration and the police. This strength, however, became the greatest source of his trouble in his bid to retain the Kangema seat. Right from 1980 Kamotho began to overplay his position both as a member of the executive and as a member of the petty-bourgeoisie struggling to enter the comprador or national bourgeois class at everyone else's expense. In both cases, he did not feel constrained as he levelled attacks and threats against the students, teachers, and other members of the petty-bourgeoisie. Sometimes he simply brushed them aside as people who never mattered at all politically.

To make the matters all the more serious, Kamotho was alleged to have castigated some Kangema voters who insisted that he was first and foremost answerable to them as his constituents, and irrespective of whether he was a minister or not. And during the election campaign period, he was said to have been behind the transfer of a Kangema District Officer who seemed to have sensed a wind of political change against Kamotho and who therefore tried to be neutral even to the minister himself. Several other allegations of threats against chiefs, sub-chiefs, school heads and other government officers were encountered. They all pointed towards an individual who was out to use his position of power to retain the seat whatever the cost.

Most of Kamotho's efforts to retain Kangema seat tended to backfire and to alienate the voters all the more. No wonder he lost some 2,165 votes in 1983 when he polled 15,630 votes as compared to the 17,795 votes he had polled in 1979. About 477 of the alienated voters seem to have cast their votes for Kariuki, while about 1,698 seem to have drifted to Michuki's camp and thus requiring him to recruit nearly 3,000 floating voters to secure victory. At this point, Kamotho's sin was that of negligent arrogance. A sin that not only cost him the seat that year, but one that may be difficult to clear before the next elections.

The electorate, KANU and the Government

Turning to the issue of voters' attitude towards the party and the government, one notices the presence of negative but very small relationship between voters' satisfaction with Kanu and their satisfaction with the sitting MP., (Table 31). That means there was significant tendency for those satisfied with the sitting MP (90%) to be only satisfied, but not very satisfied with Kanu, while many of those dissatisfied with him (40%) tended to be very satisfied with the party and 50% of them were only satisfied with the party. However, one also notes that of those dissatisfied with the sitting MP. about 10% were also dissatisfied with the party, while no one among those satisfied with the incumbent was dissatisfied with Kanu. The corollary of this is that those who were very satisfied with Kanu also tended to be dissatisfied with the sitting MP.

A similar pattern emerges as one tries to see whether there could be any association between voters' satisfaction with Kanu and their view of the person who has contributed most for the area's development. Thus, most of those who thought that the sitting MP had done most for the area's development (75%) tended to be only satisfied with Kanu, while many of those who named some other politicians tended to be very satisfied with the party (40%). Some 50% of the latter were only satisfied with the party (Table 32). Again this is the group that contains an element that is dissatisfied with the party (54) or one that simply doesn't know whether they are satisfied with it or not (5%).

All this may be explained by the fact that Michuki and Kariuki, the two candidates opposing Kamotho, were respectively Chairman and Secretary for Kangema constituency Kanu sub-branch. In addition, Gichohi Githuna, who was (and still is) the Murang'a District Kanu Branch Chairman, and who has always been opposed to Kamotho for being Kiano's proxy in Kangema, was one of the main supporters and campaign organizers for Michuki. Given this situation, it was likely that the voters behind Michuki felt more satisfied with Kanu than those who were behind Kamotho. In this case one would suspect, that the voters tended to mix up the particular individuals and the positions they

occupied. Where the voters were satisfied with the particular individual they were also more satisfied with his position, in Kanu for example, than those who were dissatisfied with him. If this interpretation is correct, it would then appear that the personality rather than his role in the party, or the party's performance for that matter, was more instrumental in influencing the voters. In particular, Gichohi Githuna's oratory and ability to articulate issues as well as answer attacks constituted an invaluable asset for Michuki than his position as Kanu District Chairman. In this respect, the neutrality that the party sought to achieve in the electoral struggle was fully upheld in Kangema.

On the other hand, however, the fact that a huge section of the voters gave the cautious answer of "satisfied" rather than "very satisfied" with Kanu (Tables 31 and 32) might suggest a deliberate effort on their part to sound some reservation in respect of the party's performance. It should be noted that a "don't-know" response was very small (Table 32) in this respect, thus suggesting a high level of awareness as well. The wary stance of the voters is maintained when asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the view that Kanu and the Government had done a lot for the country, (Table 33). The majority of the voters of all ages would only agree, but not strongly agree, with the assertion. It is notable that female voters were more cautious than their male counterparts who gave a greater "strongly agree" response. In all, once again, no one gives a "don't know" response.

As such, Kangema voters seem to consider the party and the government as one and the same thing and hence the similarity of their responses to the two questions. Their cautious responses, however, must be treated seriously particularly in view of the high voter turnout experienced in Kangema since 1974. They seem to be cautioning both the party and the government that they should not be taken for granted and that they expect better performance from both the party and the government in respect of the way they listen and attend to people's social and economic needs and demands in a bid to improve their life conditions.

Voting and Influencing the Government

The above conclusion is collaborated by the voters' attitude towards voting and the role of elections. In the first place, about 62% of Kangema voters believe voting in general elections has been secret (Table 34) and they therefore seem to derive a lot of confidence in the outcome of their act of voting. So far there has not been much talk of fraud in Kangema elections and one is persuaded to consider this factor as contributing to the tradition of high voter turn out that characterizes the constituency. Even then, one still observes some skepticism among the male voters below 40 years of age where the rate of non-voting seems to have been high too. It is from this section of the electorate that the bulk of the youth wingers is derived and may be they have better information and hence reasons to believe that voting is not secret. All the same their belief has not adversely affected the general voter turn out in a bid by the electorate to express their view about who should represent them in parliament.

In the second place, there seems to be some reservations in the minds of the voters in respect of the efficacy of voting in influencing the government. About 56% of the electorate believe that voting influences the government while about 44% believe it does not. (Table 35). This rather cautious way of seeing things seems to be close to the one we saw earlier on regarding the voters satisfaction with Kanu and performance of Kanu and government in the country. It covers all age groups, both men and women. The only deviation, however, is among the voters below 40 years who seem to be highly convinced in the efficacy of voting as a means of influencing the government. In this case, what they seem to be saying is that if voting is secret and fair the result is likely to influence the government and therefore, perhaps, people should do all they can to cast their votes. Thus although this section of the electorate might initially be regarded as being uninterested in voting, in fact they take a lot of interest as there is much at stake in terms of the policies that are likely to emerge as a result of the choice they make.

Many voters above the age of 40, on the other hand, believe voting does not influence the government and in this case the only

reason for voting would seem to be the need to influence the composition of local leadership, parliamentary and civic, in the hope that more attention will be given to their needs and demands locally.

Finally, the Kangema electorate overwhelmingly support the idea of choosing a new MP at every election, (Table 36). This trend is, once again, characteristic of voters in all age groups, both men and women. It is a characteristic that summarizes their behaviour since 1969 during which time whoever won the parliamentary seat in Kangema did so with a margin that was nearly counterbalanced by his nearest rival, (see Table 23). It is a phenomenon which also summarizes the voters' assertive attitude as concerns their right to change their MPs. They strongly uphold the view that the "seat" belongs to them. That they only choose who occupies it for the time being; but nobody should claim it perpetually. This attitude could also be responsible for the high voter turn out since 1969. It is likely to continue in the future thus making it unlikely that one will become an MP for Kangema for more than two terms consecutively. It is also an attitude that is in keeping with the voters' preference for new ideas as a factor to determine the way people vote, a preference which is in turn based on the belief that there is always a better and more capable person around and he should be given a chance to demonstrate his ability in leading the people to faster social and economic development.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one notes that the attitude and behaviour of the electorate in an election are determined by a multiplicity of factors revolving around the way the voters perceive the incumbent as compared to his challengers as relates to the way the expectations of the constituents have been met or are likely to be met in the near future. In 1983 the role of the urban elite who operated against Kamotho, together with Kamotho's alienation of a good number of the peasantry, the unemployed and the educated elite, all seem to have greatly contributed to Michuki's victory. This, however, was a very narrow victory and Michuki will have to be positively active if at all he expects to be re-elected in the next elections. Although buying up the voters may not

have been very crucial in determining the results, a candidate's ability to keep financially afloat during the entire campaign period has become very important in Central Province. This factor, more than anything else, has made it very difficult for several would-be good leaders to seek the parliamentary seats in the Province, and in Murang'a in particular. In this area, campaigning has become a form of employment, and for a candidate to succeed he has now to employ a huge team of campaigners who are graded according to what they are able to offer, and of course paid accordingly. Thus, although the voters would not be voting somebody because he is wealthy, no doubt his wealth greatly raises his probability of being elected. Without this factor, one wonders whether all the current MPs from Murang'a would have been voted in.

Under the circumstances, even though various issues may be articulated in the election campaign, the wealthy personality has in the final analysis indirectly forced itself on the electorate. It is indirectly brandished as a symbol of an individual's ability in terms of promoting the economic and social progress of the locality. This is a departure from the days of political personality when Kiano tried to dominate everybody else purely on the basis of political manipulation. It is not clear, however, whether the emergence of the wealthy personality in the political arena is likely to develop into a new level of ideological debate in the near future. However, the Matiba - Kamau Mweru struggle in the 1983 elections in Mbiri seems to point at this kind of development. In other words, it is unlikely that the wealthy personality will become benevolent in terms of using wealth to promote the area's economic and social progress. Poverty will therefore continue to rise and the surfacing of the ideological question becomes inevitable.

Table 23: Historical Electoral Chart for Kangema Constituency, Murang'a
District 1958 - 1983.

Year	Distribution of Votes and other Particulars	Voters Turn Out	Winning (W) or Candi- dates (C) Vote as Percentage of Reg. Voters	Winning(W) or Candi- dates (C) Vote as Percentage of Votes Cast
1958	Central South Constituency = Fort Hall & Kiambu J.G. Kiano 6,684 E.W. Mathu 3,936 10,620			
1961	(Fort Hall Constituency) J.G. Kiano 47,885 K. Njiri 45,719 D. Mbarathi 1,483 95,087			
1963	(Kangema Constituency) J.G. Kiano (Unopposed)			
1965	Mwangi Njage sole candidate for Senate by-election for Murang'a District (oust T. Mwaura)			
1966	Senate dissolved and its members deployed to new and adjusted constituencies: Mwangi Njage became new MP for Kangema			
1969	Mwangi Njage 4,552 O. Githiomi 3,608 D. Gachucha 2,878 M. Kimarua 1,039 G. Gichuhi 886 J.K. Makumi 658 Total Votes Cast 13,621 Registered Voters 27,042	50.4%	(C)16.9% (W)16.9%	(C)33.5% (W)33.5%

1974	J.J. Kamotho	8,007		(C)31.1%	(C) 43.4%
	M. Kigano	7,031			
	I.N. Kariuki	2,300			
	Mwangi Njage	668			
	Spoilt	410			
	Total Votes Cast	18,416			
	Registered Voters	25,716	71.7%	(W)31.1%	(W)43.4%
1979	J.J. Kamotho	17,795		(C)44.5%	(C)56.1%
	J.N. Michuki	13,321		(C)33.2%	(C)42%
	Spoilt	620			
	Total Votes Cast	31,736			
	Registered Voters	40,183	79.1%	(W)44.5%	(W)56.1%
1983	J.J. Kamotho	15,630		(C)33.9%	(C)45.2%
	J.N. Michuki	18,014		(C)38.8%	(C)52.1%
	I.N. Kariuki	477			(C) 1.4%
	Spoilt	418			
	Total Votes Cast	34,539			
	Registered Voters	46,349	74.5%	38.8%	52.1%

Sources: Supervisor of Elections, Files, 1974 - 1983.

Baraza, 1958 - 1963

Taifa Leo, 1965

Daily Nation, 1963 - 1983

E.A. Standard, 1958 - 1983

Weekly Review, 1975 - 1983

Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 24: Voters' Age, Sex, and Satisfaction with Sitting MP

(n=49)

Age in Years	Satisfaction with Sitting MP				
	Satisfied		Disatisfied		Total
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	%
18-30	2.0	4.1	18.4	4.1	28.6
31-40	8.2	2.0	6.1	6.1	22.4
41-50	10.2	8.2	2.0	4.1	24.5
51-60	4.1	0.0	4.1	6.1	14.3
61 and Over	4.1	2.0	4.1	0.0	10.2
All Ages	28.6	16.3	34.7	20.4	100

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 25: Electorate attitude to sitting MP and to person who has done most for the area's development.

(n = 46)

Person named for Most Contribution to Deve- lopment	Satisfaction with Sitting MP		
	Satisfied %	Disatisfied %	Total %
Sitting MP	39.0	15.2	54.2
Other Politician	4.4	37.0	41.4
A Local Person	4.4	0	4.4
Total	47.8	52.2	100

Gamma = .66

$\chi^2 = 3.74$

Statistical Significance = .10

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 26: Voters' Location and View about who has done most for area's development

Person named for most contribution to area's De- velopment.	Voter's Location								Total
	Kiru		Iyego		Kiriti		Gitugi		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
MP	5	1	0	0	12	5	4	1	28
Other Politi- cian	0	1	3	5	3	0	3	5	20
Local Person	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Don't know	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Govern- ment	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	5	3	5	6	15	5	8	6	53

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983

Table 27: Voters' opinion poll by locations

(n = 52)

Voter's Location	Set to Vote Sitting MP, 1983	
	Yes	No
Kiru	71	29
Iyego	10	90
Kiriti	67	33
Gitugi	29	71
All Locations	46	54

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983

Table 28: Distribution of Voters according to their Satisfaction with sitting MP and their feelings about the most important factor to determine Voting.

(n = 48)

Factor determining Voting	Satisfaction with sitting MP.		
	Satisfied(%)	Disatisfied(%)	Total(%)
Traditional Leadership	22.9	18.8	41.7
Education	0	0	0.0
Wealth	2.1	2.0	4.1
Religion	0	0	0.0
New Ideas	16.7	27.1	43.8
Others/Don't Know	2.1	8.3	10.4
Total	43.8	56.2	100

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 29: Voter's occupation and Attitude towards the Sitting MP

Occupation	Satisfaction with Sitting MP				
	Satisfied		Disatisfied		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1. Farmer/Peasant	4	5	4	7	20
2. Shop/Hotel Keeper	4	0	2	1	7
3. Salesman	1	0	0	0	1
4. Business	2	1	1	1	5
5. Unemployed	0	1	4	0	5
6. Teacher	0	1	3	1	5
7. Driver/Conductor	0	0	1	0	1
8. Clerk/Typist	1	0	0	0	1
9. Student	0	0	2	1	3
10. Casual/Messenger	1	0	0	0	1
Total	13	8	17	11	49

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 30: Voter's Occupation and attitude towards the sitting MP.
in Percentages
(n = 49)

Occupation	Satisfaction with Sitting MP		
	Satisfied	Disatisfied	Total
	%	%	%. (n)
Peasant/Farmer	45	55	100((20)
Businessmen/Shop/ Hotel Keepers and Salesmen Drivers/ Conductors	57	43	100 (14)
Unemployed	20.0	80.0	100 (5)
Teachers and Students	12.0	88.0	100 (8)
Office Clerks/ Messangers	100.0	0.0	100 (2)

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 31: Association between Voters' satisfaction with
sitting MP and satisfaction with Kanu.

Satisfaction with Kanu	Satisfaction with sitting MP		
	Satisfied	Disatisfied	Total
Very Satisfied	2 (10%)	10 (40%)	12 (27%)
Satisfied	17 (90%)	13 (50%)	30 (67%)
Disatisfied	0 (0%)	3 (10%)	3 (6%)
TOTAL	19 (100%)	26 (100%)	45 (100%)

Gamma = -. 34

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 32: Voters' satisfaction with KANU and their view of who has done most for the area's development

Person named for Contributing most for Development	Satisfaction with KANU					
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dis satisfied	Refused Answers	Don't know	Total
Sitting MP	4 (14%)	21 (75%)	-	1 (4%)	2 (7%)	28 (100%)
Other Politicians	8 (40%)	10 (50%)	1 (5%)	-	1 (5%)	20 (100%)
Local Person	1	1	-	-	-	2
Don't Know	-	1	1	-	-	2
Government	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	13 (24%)	33 (62%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	53 (100%)

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983

Table 33: Voters' attitude towards KANU and Government, by Age

Age in Years	KANU and Government done a lot for Country									
	Strongly Agree		Disagree		Don't Know		Total			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
18-30	3	1	5	3	2	0	0	0	10	4
31-40	3	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	8	4
41-50	1	3	5	5	0	0	0	0	6	8
51-60	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3
61-+	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
All Ages	8	5	22	15	2	0	0	0	32	20
										52

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983

Table 34: Voters' attitude towards secrecy of voting

Age in Years	Believe in Secrecy of Voting			
	Yes		No	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
18-30	3	2	6	1
31-40	3	3	3	1
41-50	4	5	2	2
51-60	2	3	2	-
61 and Over	3	1	1	-
All Ages	15(32%)	14(30%)	14(30%)	4(8%)

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 35: Voters attitude towards influencing Government Through Voting

Age in Years	Believe Voting Influences Government			
	Yes		No	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
18-30	5	3	5	1
31-40	4	3	2	-
41-50	1	5	2	5
51-60	2	-	2	3
61 and Over	4	-	1	-
All Ages	16(33%)	11(23%)	12(25%)	9(19%)

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.

Table 36: Voters' Preference for Retaining or Changing MPs at each election.

Age in Years	Preference for Retaining or changing MP frequently							
	Retain some MPs		Change MPs		Don't Know		Refused Answer	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
18-30	-	-	7	4	1	-	1	-
31-40	3	-	5	3	-	1	1	-
41-50	1	1	4	6	-	-	-	1
51-60	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
61 +	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-
All Ages	5	2	24	16	1	1	2	1

Source: Electoral Survey, Kangema, 1983.